THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

The Christian Socialist

The Golden Rule Against the Rule of Gold

Vol. IV. No. 16 | CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, AUGUST [illegible] 1907 | 50 Cents Per Year

An Appeal to the Ministers of America

By A. C. Palmer.

Dear Brethren:

In behalf of the Socialist world movement, I desire to extend to each of you a personal Macedonian call. Come over and help us!

The ideals and labors of Socialism and Christianity are largely along the same lines. Socialism aims to bring about an equality of opportunity. Is there anything irreligious in that? Socialism says that he who will not work, neither shall he eat. Is that anti-religious?

In what, then, does the alleged hostility of Socialism to religion consist. It surely is not in the avowed aim of the Socialist philosophy to uplift the fallen, feed the hungry and bring the power of living a complete life within the reach of all.

Is there any influence in the world to-day making more for the world's peace, more for fraternity among all men, more for justice and true righteousness, than the modern Socialist movement?

There is nothing in the full acceptance of Socialism, which, rightly understood, can possibly cause any of us to lose a jot or tittle of zeal for religion. On the contrary, you and I will be better men, better citizens, better Christians, by a full knowledge of the truths of modern scientific Socialism.

We may all stand together, I think, upon the proposition that the sole hope of the attainment of economic justice in this world, as of the salvation of the individual, lies in the principles of the Christian religion as given to us in the word of God. Now God works through human instrumentalities. To accomplish anything, these instrumentalities must work along rational lines.

Socialism simply points out the rational application of the principles of true religion to the everyday social and industrial life.

It is becoming increasingly evident to more and more of us that the competitive system of industry is utterly out of harmony with the teachings of Jesus. That the existing regime is assailed from all sides, that the new wine is everywhere breaking the old bottles, simply proves that Jesus Christ did not live nor die in vain. Through the dismal mists of human history, across dark gulfs of cruelty, inhumanity and despair, the light of the Christ doctrine shines bright and clear. Nineteen centuries of perversion have not quenched its steady glow.

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and thy neighbor as thyself. Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. In these two commandments of the Savior, lie the solution of every problem of our lives, the redress of every wrong.

But alas! existing conditions largely make obedience to these commands a thing impossible. In our capitalistic system of society, who is the most "successful," the man or firm who practices the Golden Rule, or the man or firm whose practice is exactly the reverse? How can I love my neighbor as myself when I am engaged in a fierce struggle with him to decide which of us is fittest to survive?

No! no! no! The spirit of competition is the spirit of war and hate and death; the spirit of co-operation is the spirit of love and fraternity and life.

Look around us. Are the crimes, misery suicides and moral destruction of thousands the faults of the Divine Plan? Or do not these things come about through the mournful mal-adjustments of man?

It is, indeed, a glorious home which the All-Father has provided for his boys and girls. Its foundations are laid deep in the everlasting granite. In its capacious cellars are stored mineral riches amply sufficient for the lifetime of a race. Its broad fields are capable of bringing forth abundant supplies for all who look to Him for their daily bread. Nor is the æsthetic nature of its inhabitants overlooked. The varied seasons are full of ever new sensations of delight. The roses and lilies glorify the wild meadows. The very snowflake of the air, and the scale on the butterfly's wing, are things of wondrous beauty. Over all, the glittering constellations of the sky speak eloquently of the shortness of time, and the greatness of eternity.

How fitted is the planet we live on to be the abode of every happiness! Yet for multitudes of its children, life is a somber hell. Drunkenness and poverty abound in the most highly favored countries. The poor man envies the rich, and the rich despise the poor.

Theologians tell us that these things are the result of sin; and that is true. But it is not true that the sin is wholly, or even generally, on the part of the victims of our capitalistic system. The sin of all sins, the sin at the bottom of every sin, is simply this: By the workings of our institutions and the methods of our industrial systems, we have permitted a few of the world's inhabitants to monopolize the natural resources which the Creator intended for the use of all his children. The people have been pushed to the wall and made to hunger and freeze. The same causes would produce the same result under any and all circumstances.

It requires, I admit, a considerable stretch of the imagination to picture the modern system of capitalistic ownership as adopted in the government of the Golden City. Many of us who are infatuated with that system here on earth practically admit the rightfulness of Socialism when it comes to the Hereafter.

Let us make the effort, however, to imagine the system of private ownership as under full sway in Heaven. Let us assume that a few of the redeemed were permitted to monopolize the House of many Mansions and dictate to all the others the terms on which those others might be permitted to remain there.

Would not this produce poverty in Heaven itself? And would not this poverty bring forth misery and sin? Yea, verily.

Now it requires little reasoning powers to perceive that a system not good for Heaven is not very good for earth either.

A condition of human existence, under which one man is permitted to amass millions which he has not earned, while his brother, a block away, is in bitter need of the food and clothing which he has earned many times over, but of which he has been legally deprived, is not a condition which will ever lead us into God's Kingdom on earth.

That all men are born with an equal right to life is admitted. That all men are born with an equal right of access to the means of life is not yet admitted. Yet it must be recognized, if we are to avoid the monstrous inequalities which threaten to destroy our civilization.

Be not deceived, God is not mocked. We cannot go on praising the Declaration of Independence with our lips, while denying its logical corollaries in our civil life, without reaping the bitter consequences.

Socialism demands, not the collective ownership of all property, but the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution. More is not demanded, less would not suffice.

By the "means of production and distribution" is meant the railroads, telegraphs, ships, mines, factories, stores and land. How the nation collectively may become the owner of these things is fully explained by Gronlund and other standard Socialist writers.

President Roosevelt, through his income and inheritance tax suggestions, has pointed out one way in which this country may ultimately revert to the people who inhabit it.

As free moral agents, you and I may oppose the beneficent revolution which is leading us onward to economic justice. But change in our industrial system is inevitable. The sighs of the victims of heartless cupidity have been heard in Heaven.

Social Unrest Week at Chautauqua

Socialism Discussed by John Graham Brooks, Henry Clews, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Rose Pastor Stokes, Bishop Potter, Erman J. Ridgway, Charles Stelzle and Others.

Last week was the greatest in all the history of Chautauqua. It was called the Social Unrest Week from "Social Unrest," the study of present social conditions in America, by John Graham Brooks, and John Graham Brooks was the principal speaker. He gave a course of six lectures on "The Challenge of Socialism to Modern Society"; giving one each day in the following order:

On Monday his subject was "The Economic and Ethical Origins of Socialism," in which, after explaining the significance of the word Socialism and paying tribute to the greatness and sincerity of the Socialist leaders, he said: "There is not a person here who would say that a system which produces a few multimillionaires at the top and thousands of families living on t'ree hundred and sixty dollars a year at the bottom is making admirable achievement. Because men and women are revolting against that system we have the economic and ethical origins of Socialism."

On Tuesday he spoke on 'The Recent Growth and Practical Activity of Socialism." He dwelt on the development in France and Germany, and especially in New Zealand, showing how far behind the progressive nations we are in industrial progress. He closed with these words: "Many very respectable people come up to me and whisper in great glee, 'New Zealand is failing!' What would you think of a man who would call it mighty good news that some great medical discovery was proving a failure? The two are on a par. If New Zealand fails it is simply an infinite pity. It is something to make us weep and not rejoice. If it fails it means that we must go through the long struggle all over again to get to a kind of life where all of us can have justice." When he had finished there were many in the audience who said: "If New Zealand, with its freedom from monopoly, poverty, slums and trusts, is failing, and we with our plenty of all these are succeeding, then failure is better."

Mr. Brooks' subject for Wednesday was "The Organization of Discontent." He spoke of the methods of propaganda used by the Socialists, and then of the common objection to Socialism that "You will have to change human nature." He said: "If you will take a great arc of history you will see that human nature has been changed to a considerable extent." And in

pointed to the development from cannibalism and the lower forms of brutality, and said that as to a large extent we have outgrown blood lust, so we shall outgrow money lust. He closed with: "This organization for creating discontent has for its ideal the attainment of a condition in which all will have a devotion to their work and not work only for pay; and they (the Socialists) have faith that the question of how much money should be paid for work will take care of itself. If objection is made to that ideal I should feel like answering in the words of an old Latin proverb: 'Woe to the people whose imagination is not touched and moved by the picture of an ideal improvement of society.'"

On Thursday Mr. Brooks spoke on "Socialism as a Religion." I wish that space permitted my quoting the whole of this address. In it he said: "To assume that we have got to have poverty is a very vicious bit of morals. As long as we say that, we are going to have poverty in our midst. If we assume that there will come a time when poverty will be gone we will do more to get rid of it. One of the essential parts of the Socialist's Religion is that we never shall have a decent society until we reorganize it so that everybody shall have a perfectly honest delight in the work they do. Do they now? Do the men in the mines, at the smelters, at the looms, have anything like a real joy in their work? I shall never be quite content until we get just as much reorganization as will make it possible for every man to have a pleasure in his work. That is a part of the religion of Socialism." He then spoke on the Socialist attitude towards war: "I am bound to say that in modern times wars have lost their patriotic element and are conducted solely for commercial purposes, to get rid of the surplus products of a nation and to keep open markets for her trade. And let me tell you that the Socialists are almost the only people in the world who have a perfectly clear, sane and hopeful method of striking at the roots of this."

"Money and Marriage" was the subject of Friday's lecture; in it he showed how under the present system the home and family is commercialized and corrupted. He showed that the purpose of the Socialists is to do away with the swollen, unjust wealth and the poverty that cause so large a share of the expensive and the cheap prostitution in modern society. He said: "On this question of marriage Socialism has just as high an ideal as is found in any society."

Mr. Brooks had expected to speak on Saturday on "Our Duty Toward the Movement," but he said that whereas he had expected to find the people hostile to Socialism he had found them so hospitable to the Great Message that he thought it wise to check them; he therefore changed his topic and spoke on "Why I Am Not a Socialist." This last lecture, compared with the others that he had given, was hastily put together and ill thought out. The point of it was that he wanted to see "Regulation" thoroughly tried. "But," said he, "if it comes true, as the Socialists predict, that we cannot regulate private monopolies out of existence, on that very day that I see that it cannot be done I will become a Socialist." This cautious attitude taken by Mr. Brooks is exactly the same as that of many honest men before the Revolution of '76; they would not abolish the king's rule, they would only limit it, "regulate" it. When they found it impossible they came to the position of "The Sons of Liberty" and agreed that kingly privilege is inherently wrong. It is exactly the same as that of many men before '61 who would not abolish slavery, but limit, "regulate" the slave power; when they found it impossible they came to the position of the Abolitionists and agreed that slave-ownership is inherently wrong. So, I have no doubt, a little more futile "Trust Busting," a few more demonstrations of the fact that it is impossible to return to the stage of industrial competition, and many such earnest, broad, clear thinking men as John Graham Brooks will realize that effective satisfactory "regulation" is impossible, and they will come to the position of the Socialists that Capitalism is inherently unjust. Meanwhile such men as he are doing valuable work in overcoming the ignorant prejudice against Socialism that is held by such people as assemble at Chautauqua.

Many other eminent leaders of thought, such as J. G. Phelps Stokes and his wife, Bishop Potter and Charles Stelzle spoke during the week, but their addresses can hardly be even touched upon for lack of space.

Henry Clews, the New York Banker,

who spoke on Monday on "Great Wealth and Social Unrest," is typical of his class of small minded, cringing priests of Mammon. As he spoke of the Socialists and exclaimed: "I say, down with these assassins of good government, these assailants of law and order!" a friend of mine, who is not a Socialist, turned to me and remarked: "Let that man speak here three times and you would have the whole place converted to Socialism." Mr. Clews, unconsciously furnished the chief joke of the week. In the hour just before he spoke Mr. Brooks had told, as an illustration of the silliness of many common answers to the argument of Socialism, the story of the two Irishmen, one of whom said that he believed in Socialism. The other asked him if he would be willing to divide up. "Yes," he answered, "if I had two houses or two automobiles, I would give you one." "And if you had two goats, would you give me one?" asked the second. "No," responded the first, "because I have the goats." Mr. Brooks said that the man who told that "silly and inane" story as an answer to Socialist argument marked himself as ignorant and stupid. During his address Mr. Clews told that story. The audience laughed; he thought they were laughing with him; he was mistaken; they were laughing at him. Most of them thought that he didn't need the mark to show his stupidity.

R. R. Bowker, Corporation Lawyer,

spoke on Tuesday on "The Corporation and Social Unrest." He showed up the evils of corporation control in corrupting government, in using unfair means of competition and in over-capitalization. His remedy, like that of Mr. Brooks, would be, first, "Regulation," but his conclusion sounded like Socialism: "Let us listen to the men of high ideals, that we may learn to live in social unity, in national—yes, in world-wide unity; that represents the highest ideal that we can carry before us."

Erman J. Ridgway, Publisher of Everybody's,

spoke, also on Tuesday. His topic was: "Journalism and Social Unrest." He said, in part: "Unrest is the leaven in the lump. It began in Eden; it will end in Utopia. The biography of Unrest is the history of progress. One hundred years ago the unrest was political. The leaven of political unrest was working in America and Europe. We have almost accomplished political democracy. To-day the unrest is industrial. The leaven of industrial democracy is working in America and Europe and we shall accomplish industrial democracy." He then paid a tribute to the "Yellow" press, which is awakening the disinherited to the discontent that they ought to feel.

Col. S. H. Church of Pittsburg

followed Mr. Ridgway. He spoke on "Ostentatious Wealth and Class Feeling." His address was not quite as good Socialist propaganda material as that of Mr. Clews, although he did class all Socialists as insane, saying: "A sane human mind would be incapable of adhering to Socialism." However, he did make one statement that is good Socialist doctrine: "Wealth is the aggregate possession of the entire nation. This mountain of gold belongs to all in proportion as each contributes to it." The Socialist would add: "That being so, all ought to claim it."

J. G. Phelps Stokes

spoke on Wednesday on "Socialism and Social Unrest." His text was: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." "The Chautauquan Daily" said of his address: "A broader view than is generally gained of Socialism, from the point of view of the enlightened American Socialist, and a rational basis for its doctrines, was presented Wednesday by Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes in a remarkably interesting and logical address on "Socialism and the Social Unrest." The fact that he had himself so efficiently put into practice these doctrines gave the greater value to his words, which, although kept strictly within rigid limits of logical discussion, were not untouched by a passion that deepened their effect." There was no more able address throughout the week.

Mrs. Rose Pastor Stokes

followed her husband. She spoke to a very large audience on the same subject that Col. Church had used, "Ostentatious Wealth and Class Feeling." She finished a remarkably clear and convincing address with these words: "It is the unjust industrial order that is at fault. To-day things desired can be secured more easily by exploitation than by service. To do away with industrial injustice we must bring about a new order of things under which reward shall be proportioned, not to effective appropriation, but to effective service." After the address Mrs. Stokes spent half an hour in answering questions. Never have I heard quicker, keener, saner answers than those she gave. For instance, in answer to the question: "Do Socialists recognize God or not?" Mrs. Stokes replied: "You might as well ask: 'Do Republicans recognize God?' or 'Do Democrats recognize God?' A Socialist may believe in God or he may be an Atheist. Socialists are working for the betterment of economic conditions. What has that to do with a man's religious belief? The railings in the Socialist press are not against religion, but against the state of inertia and hypocrisy existing in the church to-day which makes it inadequate for the needs of the people. It is because the church to-day cannot meet the moral situation among the poor that the poor are leaving it; and it is this that the Socialist press sometimes bitterly comments on. I believe in God. I know many Socialists who are religious, and I hope to know many more."

Bishop Henry C. Potter

spoke on Friday on "The Relation of the Church to Social Unrest." He spoke of the causes of unrest, which he gave as three: the spread of knowledge; the industrial revolution which makes man the slave of the machine; and the monstrous profusion and extravagance of expenditure. He spoke of the need of improving social environment and of the duty of the church to co-operate in this, closing with these words: "We must create everywhere the Christian ideal. Human society is to be what you and I agree to make it. Under the spell of that ideal it is our conviction and agreement that shall create the atmosphere under which that ideal shall grow. I am more and more convinced of the power of environment. Your duty and mine is to create a kinder and more benign and, most of all, a more fraternal environment."

Charles Stelzle, Chairman of the Presbyterian Church Committee on Labor,

spoke the same day on: "The Church and Social Unrest." He made the astounding assertion that the tendency on the part of the working class is not away from, but toward the church. He did not support this statement, however, and aside from this his address, from his point of view, was good. His idea is that the conversion of the individual would make everything all right.

It was my privilege to follow Mr. Stelzle with an address on "Christian Socialism" in which I showed that individual conversion alone is not sufficient, but that social reorganization on a just basis is necesary in order to have an environment in which individual Christianity is practicable. "It is the mission of the Christian Socialist movement in America to show the Church that Socialism embodies the necessary economic foundation for the realization of the Christian social ideal."

The effect of this week's discussion of this greatest of all subjects cannot but be conducive to the better understanding and wider dissemination of the principles of Socialism, wherein lies the hope of the future.

EDWARD J. WARD.

The Daily Socialist

Arrangements have been made whereby we are able to send you the Daily Socialist of Chicago and the Christian Socialist both for the price of the Daily as follows:

The Daily Socialist	$2.00
The Christian Socialist	.50
Total	$2.50

We will furnish you both of them a whole year for $2.00.

It is subs. we need these hot summer days.

On Board the Potsdam

(Editorial Itinerary by E. E. C.)

"It is the unexpected that happens." Ten days ago I did not dream of a trip to Europe for at least ten years. Now I am on board the Holland-American steamer Potsdam, billed to sail at daybreak to-morrow, August 7th, for Rotterdam.

For several years my life-work has been double, for the last five years especially hard. Two years ago while doing three men's work at the Vincennes Chautauqua a slight stroke of paralysis, affecting the left side of my face and tongue, gave warning for me to slow up. During the last six months a strange burning in my brain and a sense of nervous exhaustion has been increasing, making it quite difficult to do my work. My last lecture trip was the most difficult of all, and I could not lecture during July. The month's rest did not greatly restore my health and I felt I could not go on the road in August. And, not knowing how it could happen, I felt that I would not.

While wife and I were considering with deep concern the imperative need of my lecturing to keep the wolf at bay and the imperative need of my resting for very life's sake, Comrade Ward's enthusiastic proposal to send me to the International Socialist Congress came like the sudden providence of God.

However, the thing seemed so impossible that I read Comrade Ward's glowing proposition as a joke to Comrade Bentall and Mrs. Carr, laughing at the irrepressible enthusiasm and good (but hopeless) intentions of our young secretary. But they took it seriously, especially as Ward sent a goodly sum of money to prove his seriousness, and declared it was the thing and must be done.

Not being willing to accept as a mere benevolence even for my health such a generosity, their task was to show how my delegacy would be worth the cost to the Fellowship. And then I would not consent for any action until Comrade Strobell, the calm sage of New Jersey, wrote his enthusiastic approval backed by a liberal share of that which, in a case of this kind, speaks louder than words. And within three days after the announcement was mailed the response had been liberal enough to justify the risk of engaging passage. There was no time to wait for full returns if a ship was to be found in time to enable me to reach Stuttgart in time. So I had to leave before there was enough money to bring me back.

It is a peculiarly happy providence that Prof. Simons, editor of the Daily Socialist, who is one of the delegates elected by the Party to attend the Conference, was able by quick and kindly action to obtain for me a berth in the same cabin with himself on the Potsdam. We also had opposite sections on the train to New York and by the time we reach Stuttgart we will have all the big problems finally settled. It gives me great pleasure to have such intelligent and congenial company.

As I have received credentials both from the Socialist Party and from the Christian Socialist Fellowship there will be no difficulty about finding a seat in the great Congress. And as the business is all done in three languages, German, French and English, it will be intelligible to us all. And I hope to be of sufficient service to the cause, both while abroad and after my return, to justify the generosity and faith of the comrades who send me. My gratitude to them is very large already and will doubtless increase daily on the journey.

Please do not let your support of my journey interfere with your efforts to get subscribers to the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. The paper is the thing for which we live and work. It must not suffer for my sake.

At New York, by the kindness of Comrade Gaylord Wilshire, Simons and I were royally entertained at the Astor House. Dr. Bliss, with his pleasing wife and daughter and nephews, visited with me delightfully Monday evening, and Comrade Strobell spent several hours with me Tuesday, rendering kindly assistance.

The prompt and kindly response to the call of Comrades Ward and Bentall for funds to pay the expense of this voyage so vital to me and so significant to our Christian Socialist movement has set an old song ringing in my heart whose suggestion will enrich us all and cause more good deeds to be done:

"Oh, the skies that we may brighten,—
Oh, the hearts that we may lighten,—
Oh, the wrongs that we may righten,—
Helping just a little!"

A Rare Opportunity

Our fifteen-year-old Evalyn has been taking music by correspondence for four months with great satisfaction to us. Aside from the general knowledge of sight reading, composition and harmony she has obtained, she now plays with a few hours' practice selections that previously would have required weeks of hard labor for her to learn. The Chicago Correspondence School of Music (see page 8) affords a rare opportunity for students of music to learn the methods of a great master. Children, youths and middle-aged people who crave a musical education will find here the best chance in the world. Music teachers should not fail to avail themselves of this superior opportunity to improve their method and skill. Would-be composers will find here unsurpassed help. The most able musical authors and teachers are the very ones who appreciate the unequaled genius of Dr. Quinn the most.

The following letter was not intended for publication; but, believing it would interest and help many who are longing for an opportunity to learn music, but who cannot leave home to attend school, permission was obtained to print it:

July 16, 1907.

"Rev. E. E. Carr, Chicago, Ill.:

"Dear Sir—Regarding Miss Evalyn's work: She has not begun as yet to have any idea of the nature of our work, nor have you any conception or appreciation of it, no matter how well satisfied you are with the work up to date. The paragraph in which you say, 'but now I see immense advantages in your method, especially for those who find it inconvenient to attend a musical college,' shows that you do not have an appreciation of the value of Dr. Quinn's contribution to musical science. We claim, and can prove and will prove to your satisfaction, that there is no conservatory in the United States, or in the world, as a matter of fact, that in any way compares, so far as their ability to teach music is concerned, with this school. I should like very much to impress upon you that Miss Evalyn is enjoying the privilege of studying under what I believe is the greatest teacher of music that the world has ever seen.

"Dr. Quinn is the first and only man who has ever reduced the system of teaching music, or music itself, to the laws of nature. When his work is well known he will overthrow all existing methods of teaching, because he teaches *laws*, and *not* rules. These laws are as immutable as the laws of nature, from which there can be no appeal or to which no exception can be taken. If the people, ministers, Sunday school workers, choir leaders, knew of what we had for them, our doors would be battered down with applicants, but we realize that it takes time to convince the world. People doubt us. We are classed with fakers, but I am pleased to tell you that we are overcoming these objections, and the progress we are making is most gratifying.

"Sincerely,

"CHICAGO CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL OF MUSIC,

"Jno. A. Campbell, President."

The address of this great School is 169 Jackson boulevard, Chicago. I advise every one interested to send for a catalogue and full explanations of Dr. Quinn's methods.—E. E. C.

Look at Your Name-Tag

Look at the address-tag on your paper and see if your subscription is about expired. If so, please send your renewal at once and save loss at both ends of the line. Thus you will save us the trouble and expense of sending out notices, which cost a great deal in the aggregate, and you will also save yourself the loss of any numbers of the paper. Keep your subscription paid up ahead. It is best all around.

Shall We Pull Through?

Shall we pull through this hot and busy season? Have you noticed how easy it is to lag during the summer months?

But we cannot stop publishing the paper two or three months and then take it up again. Our expenses are as heavy now as any other time of the year. We are working just as hard, too.

There is a fixed determination in our bones to reach the mark which we have set out for. We are not going to give you peace or rest till we get there.

WE MUST HAVE FIFTY THOUSAND SUBSCRIBERS AND HAVE THEM SOON.

We cannot complain. Many of the comrades are doing heroically. They are doing more than their share.

But others—

Maybe they are doing their best and can't get any subscribers even at that, but we don't believe it.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST TAKES WHEREVER IT IS PUT FAIRLY BEFORE THE PEOPLE. The religious folks are beginning to lose faith in capitalism and want a change.

You can reach them with this paper and they will thank you when they realize the good you have done them.

A great wave of enthusiasm for Socialism has just struck this country. The acquittal of Haywood is a mighty force in bringing people to see the corruption and wickedness of capitalism. The squeezing of labor on every hand and the disturbance all around are factors in the great movement which is destined to overwhelm the world.

SHALL WE HAVE SOCIALISM IN OUR DAY? It is for you to say. If we could reach fifty thousand subscribers and their friends each week it would make the religious world sit up and take notice. It would make thousands of churches open their doors and let the Socialist message be heard.

We need this army of men and women in every community, who will stand together and push—PUSH THE CHURCH DOORS OPEN.

In many cases we have noticed that when quite a number are reading the Christian Socialist the influence is strong enough to secure the churches for meetings, and often the pastors in these localities assist to make the meetings successful.

Our field is so glorious that we feel extremely happy to labor, but we cannot rest day or night till we reach a larger number of people who should be informed on the subject of Socialism.

Take a good lift now, comrade, and help us over the two months left of the busy season.

WE MUST PULL THROUGH. We are here in the service of our fellow men and are willing to suffer, but we need your help.

Subscriptions are what we call for. Send for a set of five sub. postals for two dollars. Do it now. If you can, take a share of stock for ten dollars. It will help to get Socialism in our day.

CONTRIBUTION
TO
National Organization Fund
OF
The Socialist Party

WORKERS PREPARE FOR 1908!

SUBSCRIPTIONS

..... NAME ..... ADDRESS $.....

..... NAME ..... ADDRESS $.....

..... NAME ..... ADDRESS $.....

TOTAL SUBSCRIBED $.....

Do It Now! Mail your Contribution and this blank to J. STANLEY WEBSTER, National Secretary, 180 Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST

Issued Semi-Monthly

PUBLISHED

The Co-Operative Printing Company

5406 Drexel Avenue - Chicago, Illinois

Entered as second-class matter January 10, 1907, at the post-office at Chicago, Ill., under act of Congress of March 3, 1879.

Subscription Price - - 50 Cents Per Year

EDITORS

REV. EDWARD ELLIS CARR.....Chicago, Ill.
REV. J. O. BENTALL.....Chicago, Ill.
MR. OSCAR F. DONALDSON.....Webster City, Iowa

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

REV. GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.....Boston, Massachusetts
REV. LUCIEN V. RULE.....Goshen, Kentucky
DR. GEORGE H. STROBELL.....Newark, New Jersey
DR. RUFUS W. WEEKS.....New York City
REV. EDWARD J. WARD.....Rochester, New York.
REV. PAUL H. CASTLE.....Central Park, Montana
REV. J. STITT WILSON.....Berkeley, California
REV. W. B. GALLAHER.....Danville, Illinois
REV. CARL D. THOMPSON.....Milwaukee, Wisconsin

NO BILLS FOLOOW THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST. If you get it REGULARLY, someone has paid for it. When your subscription expires we will notify you and STOP THE PAPER if you do not renew. If you receive a sample copy it is an invitation to subscribe at once.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST may be had for ONE CENT PER COPY in bundles of ten or more. Ten yearly subscriptions to one person for $2.50: Five yearlies to one person for $1.50. A CLUB OF FIVE yearlies to separate addresses $2.00. A three-months' subscription for one copy 15 cents.

Please do not send stamps for subscriptions or bundle orders above 15 cents. Do not send personal checks for less than $10.00, as we have to pay exchange on all checks, unless you add 10 cents for exchange. We can not be responsible for any money sent in letters. Use bank drafts, post-office money orders or express orders.

135

My Symphony

To love, to be loved, and to know
This world holds else besides the glow
And glare of wealth's array,
To live this life without regret,
To give, to forgive, and to forget
The trials and cares of yesterday.

To spend with nature hours of ease
Among the birds and flowers and trees
That greet the morning sun,
To be at peace with all mankind,
No matter where, some good to find,
A gentle word for every one.

To honor virtue, be sincere,
To live content, yet still to hear
The lowly's humble plea,
My DUTY every day to do,
As on I journey this life through,
Forever thus—my symphony.
—J. B. Wise (Cosmopolitan Magazine).

Comrade Carr Abroad

When the announcement was made in the last issue of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST that it would be desirable to send Comrade Carr to represent the Christian Socialist Fellowship at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, Germany, we believed that the comrades would see the advantage of this and have not been disappointed.

From many have come words of encouragement and quite a few have accompanied their messages with money to defray the expenses of this trip.

Comrade Carr left here Aug. 4, and will reach Stuttgart by the 17th. Through the kindness of Comrade A. M. Simons, editor of the Chicago Daily Socialist, arrangements were made by which the two could go on the same boat. Comrade Simons is delegate from the Socialist party of America. We hope the voyage may be a most pleasant one and that these two comrades who have given their lives to the great movement of Socialism may have a restful and invigorating journey.

In behalf of the Fellowship we wish to express the highest appreciation of the interest taken in this special effort. There is still some money coming and some promises have been made. Kindly send your contribution as soon as possible, so we can make up the amount advanced to Comrade Carr, as he had to leave before enough cash reached us to supply him with his needs. In next issue a full report of this delegate fund will be issued.—J. O. B.

Socialist Sunday Schools

I frequently meet comrades who lament that they cannot send their children to the ordinary Sunday school, for they are not willing that, in the name of religion and morality, their boys and girls shall be taught the vicious doctrines of capitalism.

Grown people who have become convinced that the competitive system is wrong refuse to go to church and listen to a perverted Gospel. For those we are now establishing Centers where the ethical teachings of Jesus may be expounded in all their fullness, and where the co-operative commonwealth is advocated as over against the competitive hell in which people are now suffering.

Through the Christian Socialist Fellowship it is thus possible to furnish a place to which Christian Socialists may go to satisfy their religious cravings, and at the same time to furnish effective means of reaching the non-Socialist Christians with the message of Socialism.

But our children.

As yet no organized effort has been made to offer them a place where they may receive instruction which shall be in harmony with what we stand for as Christian Socialists.

It is my conviction that Socialist Sunday schools should be organized wherever possible, so that the minds of the children need not be polluted with the slime of capitalistic doctrines.

These schools may be organized in connection with the regular Christian Socialist Fellowship Centers, where a session may be held before or after the meeting for the adults. In some of the larger cities this may not be feasible, but in most of the smaller towns and cities it can be done to good advantage.

Where there is no Center, Socialist Sunday schools may be started irrespective of other meetings or organizations. In the larger cities these schools can be organized wherever convenient and can be held in halls where rent is not too high, or, to begin with, in homes. An effort might be made to secure the use of rooms in churches, at a time when it would not interfere with regular church sessions or other doings.

In many places these Sunday schools will become the forerunners of regular Centers, and may be largely instrumental in preparing the way for larger work. For many of the comrades are able to take charge of a Sunday school and teach classes, even if they cannot undertake to do public speaking on a large scale.

These Sunday schools may arrange for entertainments and also for lectures whenever the treasury and interest in the work warrants. In fact, these schools will be the opening wedge in many communities for the larger work that will inevitably follow.

The superintendents and teachers should all be Socialists who fully understand the fundamental principles of the Socialist philosophy. It would thus naturally follow that the children under their instruction and influence would be led to the truth and made ready to think and talk the ideas which stand for brotherhood and justice.

It is necessary that men and women of talent and tact are put in as leaders in these schools, as much depends on the method and personal ability of the teachers. As a rule, Socialists are above the average in intelligence, so that little difficulty need be anticipated in finding suitable material for the teaching force.

The courses of study are not yet laid out, but it will be one of the first things to occupy my time and I will announce this as soon as possible.

The literature to be used can easily be selected from the great and varied supply now offered at reasonable prices by Socialist publishers. Suitable selections from the Bible, and especially from the New Testament, can be collected and put in order and be used most effectively.

The CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST is at present so crowded that it is well-nigh impossible to spare space for a Sunday School Department, but if necessary we will either publish a separate small Sunday school paper or enlarge the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST so as to give room for this important work.

I would be glad to have any who are interested in this department of work communicate with me, giving suggestions and advice in regard to it.

I feel that if we can go into this work with vigor and determination that it would be possible to organize thousands of Socialist Sunday schools and thus prepare the minds of the younger generation for the glorious Gospel of love and peace and brotherhood.

J. O. BENTALL.

Haywood in Chicago

An immense, enthusiastic crowd greeted William D. Haywood, Sunday, August 11th, at Luna Park, Chicago. The cheering people eagerly listened to his eloquent address. In his introductory speech he expressed his deep gratitude to the people of the nation who so nobly fought and won his case. He urged that they should do likewise for Moyer and Pettibone.

Weeks Returns from Europe

A recent letter from Comrade Rufus W. Weeks, editor of our Current Literature Department, says he will sail from Liverpool August 8th for home. Comrade Weeks has been abroad since the last of June on business and we gladly welcome his return.

Baptist Special Edition

A Baptist special edition of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST will be issued in the near future. The Presbyterian and Protestant Episcopal and other special editions proved so successful that we are encouraged to take up similar work among the Baptists now and later have other "featured" editions.

We invite Baptists who are Socialists to write articles for this special edition. We need two or three quite exhaustive papers and then several short, crisp, pointed articles. All the contributions should be boiled down to the utmost, and written clearly and calmly.

If you know of Baptist Socialists who could write a strong article we would be thankful if you would send us their names and addresses. We have several before us now but we need more. All articles will be carefully read and the best will be used in the "Special," and other contributions that possess merit, but for which there won't be space in the "special" may be used later.

Now, comrades and brethren, give us your best. This edition must be a rouser. The Baptist denominatinon is influential in this country and its pastors and members are progressive and fearless in searching for the truth, and are becoming a mighty force in the Socialist movement.

The Baptist Special must be made the greatest yet. We have a larger number now who can circulate the paper than we had when previous large editions were printed. Let us hear from you in regard to this and begin at once to send in for bundle orders of the Baptist Special. The paper will be sent as before at one cent apiece in bundles of ten or more.

We will announce later the exact date of publication of this special edition.—J. O. B.

Socialism will be established as soon as a majority of the people want it. All people who know what Socialism is want it. The CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST informs the people on the subject. Help us get it into every home.

You can help us do good by getting subscribers. Have you sent for those five sub. cards? They can be had for $2.

We want 50,000 subscribers. Subscribers mean Socialists. Get the point?

The Christian Socialist Fellowship

Constitution, Plans, Resolutions and a Brief Account of Its Origin and Progress

From the beginning of the Socialist movement in America religious men have been identified with it. The five current American books teaching Socialism were written by men who are or have been active in the ministry: Sprague's "Socialism from Genesis to Revelation"; Vail's "Principles of Scientific Socialism"; Mills' "The Struggle for Existence"; Spargo's "Socialism," and Rauschenbusch's "Christianity and the Social Crisis."

Among the most notable advocates of Socialism in America appear many ministers, such as the late Bishop Huntington, the late McCartey, one time member of the legislature of Massachusetts; Herron, who once voiced the appeal of Applied Christianity to the churches of America; Thompson, who now leads our forces in the Wisconsin legislature; Gaylord, who is State organizer of Wisconsin; J. Stitt Wilson, Dr. Cooke, Father McGrady, Stewart Sheldon, Noll, Collison, Spence, Curtis, Wasson and many others, besides thousands of Christian laymen who have supported the parties and voted the tickets of Socialism.

Owing to the fact that a persistent effort has been made by some to force upon the Socialist movement of America the brand of atheism, various efforts have been made to rally and unite the Christian forces of Socialism in order to prevent the movement from being crippled by the atheistic idea, *and to reach in a more effective manner the religious people of the nation with the Socialist message.* Among these efforts were the publication of "The Dawn" at Boston over twenty years ago, the first Christian Socialist paper, edited by Rev. Dr. W. D. P. Bliss and liberally supported by Comrade Weeks and others. The Christian Socialist League, of which Rev. F. D. Wheelock was president and Rev. Frederick D. Strickland was secretary, afterwards obtained members in various parts of the country.

The Social Crusaders, organized by Herron, Wilson, Wentworth, Wise and Hollingsworth, made a fine start, published an excellent monthly called "The Social Crusader," edited by Wentworth, and would have permanently succeeded doubtless but for the tragedy which removed Herron from the religious field.

The Collectivist Society, founded by Rufus W. Weeks, which is still doing splendid work, though not distinctively religious, has published some superior pamphlets, such as "The Socialism of Jesus," by Weeks. And the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, which is about to hold its thirteenth annual conference at Marlborough-on-Hudson, fathered by Rev. Leighton Williams and other leading ministers of the East, though not exclusively Socialist, deserves to be mentioned as a Christian Socialist organization because of its *personnel* and the discussions it engages in.

Thus we see how a common purpose filled the hearts of many religious men in various parts of this country. Rev. E. E. Carr and wife had made arrangements to issue "The Christian Socialist" at Danville, Illinois, in January, 1904, when they learned of a paper by the same name edited by Oscar F. Donaldson at Webster City, Iowa, started the month before. A correspondence between the Carrs and Donaldson resulted in a visit of several days at Danville, at the close of which Donaldson united with the Carrs in the Co-Operative Printing Company and the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST was removed to Danville and changed to its present form and scope. In November, 1906, the paper was moved to Chicago, where Rev. J. O. Bentall became identified with it.

The CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST has not only succeeded beyond any of its predecessors, but has been able to unite religious people of all denominations in all parts of the country in the common work. And out of the agitation accomplished by this paper the Christian Socialist Fellowship was born.

The first conference of the Fellowship was held in Louisville, Ky., June, 1906. Among those present were Rev. W. D. P. Bliss of New York, Rev. E. E. Carr and Prof. Harvey P. Moyer of Illinois, Rev. A. J. Collison and Mr. W. L. Wilson of Pennsylvania, Rev. and Mrs. Fred D. Strickland of Indiana, Rev. W. A. Ward and Rev. Lucien V. Rule of Kentucky, Oscar F. Donaldson of Iowa and Judge Slanker of Missouri. Addresses, sermons and songs were enjoyed and the following constitution and a resolution indorsing the Socialist party were adopted. Rev. Lucien V. Rule was elected general secretary and Rev. W. A. Ward general treasurer.

The second annual conference met at Chicago, June 1-4, 1907, and was too large an affair to report here in detail. Rev. Edward J. Ward of Rochester, N. Y., was elected general secretary, and Rev. W. A. Ward of Henderson, Ky., was re-elected treasurer. No amendments were proposed to the constitution. The following plans were adopted, and, if successful, will probably be placed in the constitution later. The resolutions explain themselves.

Let every one who desires further information or wishes to join the Fellowship, write to the nearest district secretary or to the general secretary, Prof. Edward J. Ward, 8 Joslyn place, Rochester, N. Y.

Constitution of the Christian Socialist Fellowship

Adopted at the First Annual Conference, Louisville, Ky., June 18, 1906.

ARTICLE I—NAME.

The name of this organization shall be The Christian Social Fellowship.

ARTICLE II—OBJECT.

Its object shall be to permeate churches, denominations and other religious institutions with the social message of Jesus; to show that Socialism is the necessary economic expression of the Christian life; to end the class struggle by establishing industrial democracy and to hasten the reign of justice and brotherhood upon earth.

ARTICLE III—MEMBERSHIP.

Its members shall consist of all those who, agreeing to the object of this movement, shall give their name for enrollment to the secretary. They shall become active members upon payment of one dollar or more per annum.

ARTICLE IV—OFFICERS.

Its officers shall consist of a secretary, treasurer and an executive committee of fifty members, five of whom, together with the secretary and treasurer, shall constitute a quorum, provided that on demand of any two members of the executive committee, any or all actions of the quorum shall be suspended until ratified by a majority of the Executive Committee.

ARTICLE V—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

The duties of the officers shall be those usually devolving upon their respective offices. The executive committee shall meet in regular session annually during the month of May, time and place to be determined by a majority of the committee.

Special meetings may be called at any time by a majority of the executive committee to act upon such business as the call specifies.

All meetings of the executive committee and of the Fellowship shall be called to order by the secretary and a president shall be elected for the session.

They shall hold office for one year or until their successors are elected.

ARTICLE VI—CONFERENCE.

The annual conference shall immediately follow the regular meeting of the executive committee as the committee may provide.

ARTICLE VII—BRANCHES.

Branch organizations may be formed in State, County or City which shall have local jurisdiction within their own territory.

ARTICLE VIII—THE REFERENDUM.

The active members shall always have the right of the initiative, the referendum, and the imperative mandate, upon the petition of 10 per cent of their number.

ARTICLE IX—AMENDMENTS.

This constitution may be amended at any meeting by three-fourths vote of active members present; provided that notice of any proposed amendment be submitted to the executive committee two months prior to the time of said meeting.

Plans and Resolutions Adopted

At the Second Annual Conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship Held at Chicago, Ill., June 1-4, 1907.

Plan for Local Centers.

1. The establishment wherever feasible of Christian Socialist Fellowship Centers to prosecute the work of Socialist propaganda and educational work among the local religious bodies, to provide for the discussion of social and economic questions, distribute literature, arrange for lectures, extend the circulation of THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST and any other work that comes properly within the province of the organization according to the national constitution.

2. That the meetings of the Centers be held at such times as will not conflict with the services of the churches and that the Centers work as much with and in the churches as possible, in every way endeavoring to correct the misunderstanding that the teachings of Jesus and the philosophy of Socialism are in conflict.

3. That the membership of the Center shall consist of all subscribers to the constitution of the Christian Socialist Fellowship and payment of prescribed fee. This shall also constitute membership in the National Fellowship.

4. That the local Center be organized in the usual manner and reported to the district secretary.

Plan for District Organization.

1. The General Secretary shall, with the approval of the National Executive Committee, or quorum thereof, appoint District Secretaries at convenient centers of population.

2. The District Secretary shall endeavor to advance the objects of the Christian Socialist Fellowship, as stated in the Constitution, by increasing its membership, by circulating literature, obtaining dates for lectures, securing subscriptions for the Christian Socialist and organizing Centers within his territory. He may employ an assistant as the work and income of his district justifies.

3. The District Secretary shall call a conference of all who are interested at some convenient place in his district at least once a year. This Conference may be held as often as seems advisable, and must proceed in harmony with the National Constitution.

4. For the purposes above stated the District Secretary may use 50 per cent of all annual membership fees collected in his district, 20 per cent of all subscriptions for the Christian Socialist secured through his office and all donations obtained by his office expressly for use in his district.

5. Fifty per cent of all membership fees collected shall be forwarded to the General Secretary for use of the National Office; and 80 per cent of all subscriptions for the Christian Socialist shall be forwarded, with the subscribers' names and addresses, to the office of the Christian Socialist.

6. The District Secretary shall render quarterly reports to the General Secretary concerning the amount and character of the work done in his district, amounts collected from all sources and the itemized expenses of the district office. Any balance remaining in the district treasury shall be held in trust for the National Organization, and in the event of the abandonment of any district organization, said balance must be forwarded to the General Treasurer.

Resolution to the Socialist Party.

Resolved, That as active members of the Socialist party we thoroughly accept the economic interpretation of social and political causes, and have no desire to qualify it by any revisionist demand; and we are fully convinced that, as a matter of policy, the party ought strictly to avoid every form of religious and anti-religious theory or dogma on the lecture platform and in the party publications; and that such opinion should be regarded as a private matter, every one having the fullest liberty of belief and expression as an individual. In other words, that the Socialist party

stands for economic and in no sense whatever for religious or anti-religious propaganda.

To the Churches of America.

Believing that the one world wide movement which promises social and industrial salvation is Socialism;

Believing that the ideals of Socialism are the same as those of the church, that the Gospel of the Co-operative Commonwealth is the economic Gospel of the Kingdom;

And believing that this is the great opportunity for the followers of Jesus to help realize his ideals:

We, who are all Christian men and Socialists, offer our services to speak, presenting the Socialist economic doctrine within our churches or other organizations.

We solicit your subscription to THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST, which is the organ of the Fellowship.

We ask you to help us to tell the people in the churches that in Socialism a method has been found to realize here their longings for justice and brotherhood.

And we invite you to join the Christian Socialist Fellowship.

To the Socialists of America.

Believing that there are many people within the churches who are prejudiced against Socialism only because they do not understand or cannot accept what they regard as the non-religious philosophy of Socialism, but who are ready to accept Socialist economics and to join the political party;

Believing that these people can be won for the party if approached by men who are avowedly Christian and party Socialists;

Believing that the church is to-day, for the most part, a force serving the cause of Capitalism, and that, by means of the presentation of the truth within it, we can, in the spirit of the Carpenter of Nazareth, spike some of the guns of that battery and train them, as they should be trained, upon the present system of organized selfishness;

And believing that we can help to make the professed followers of Jesus the propagandists of Socialism that they should be;

We, who are all Christian men and women, and all Socialists, offer ourselves to the Socialist party to be used in presenting the Socialist economic doctrine in any church, in the Y. M. C. A., or in any other organization which is closed to a Socialist propaganda that does not come under the name "Christian."

List of District Secretaries

Not all those appointed District Secretaries have yet been heard from, but the following may be counted upon without any doubt:

Rev. Geo. Willis Cooke, 25 Beacon street, Boston, Mass.

Geo. H. Strobell, 5 Lincoln Park, Newark, New Jersey.

C. F. Nesbit, 1801 Phelps place, Washington, D. C.

Ohannes Varshag, 1858 Marion street, Denver, Colo.

H. C. Bangert, 106 Cedar street, Buffalo, N. Y.

J. P. Taylor, Winston Salem, N. C.

Rev. A. Noll, McKeesport, Pa.

O. F. Donaldson, Webster City, Iowa.

Rev. J. O. Bentall, 5406 Drexel avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Rev. W. A. Ward, Henderson, Ky.

G. H. Poor, 591 Scott street, Milwaukee, Wis.

Dr. A. T. Cuzner, Gilmore, Fla.

Rev. Paul H. Castle, Hamilton, Mont.

Organize Everywhere

The Christian Socialist Fellowship should be organized everywhere as quickly as possible. Almost every city and town in the United States, Canada, England, Australia and New Zealand should have a center. The Fellowship is INTERNATIONAL. If you are near a district secretary, write him at once. If not, write to the general secretary, Prof. E. J. Ward, 8 Joslyn Place, Rochester, N. Y. He will send you all needed information. Do not neglect this matter. You are the one to start it in your own community, if you have enough interest to do so.

By the way, we have some of the Episcopal edition left. Send for a bundle of ten for ten cents.

Current Literature

Edited by Rufus W. Weeks

The Socialism of the first half of the nineteenth century, now called Utopian Socialism, dealt in futurities. Its business was to argue for an ideal commonwealth, which it sketched on the lines of social justice, and its appeal was aimed at men of good will everywhere—an appeal which was but a forlorn hope. Later came the Marxist or scientific Socialism, dealing in facts, the facts of the past and the present; its business being to describe the classes of which the peoples are composed, how these classes came to exist, the struggle which necessarily goes on between them, and the end towards which this struggle tends.

It has remained for a young American scientist, James Mackaye, not connected with the Socialist movement, a graduate of Harvard and resident of Cambridge, by profession a technological chemist, to formulate another kind of scientific Socialism, which we might call "scientific Utopianism." Mr. Mackaye calls it "pantocracy" (which means the rule of all); a word that recalls Coleridge's "pantisocracy" (which meant, the equal rule of all). In his recent solid and scholarly work, "The Economy of Happiness," Mr. Mackaye takes up the problem of the social welfare of mankind, and attacks it by the method of scientific analysis; first enumerating the conditions which are necessary to the permanent economic well-being of the race, and then specifying the forms of industrial arrangement which would secure these requisite conditions. The method is scientific, and the solution is scientific; which, of course, does not mean that it is, or claims to be, infallible. Mr. Mackaye's "pantocracy" is simply a complete state Socialism, with certain features put into specific form which Socialists ordinarily leave indefinite.

The following series of passages gives a fair outline of the analysis; the passages are taken, not from the book itself, but from a concise article which Mr. Mackaye wrote on the lines of the book, and which appeared in the Independent of Jan. 17, 1907:

"I shall consider first what poverty is, second what causes it, and third what may cure it.

"*What is poverty?*

"Poverty is simply a name for a deficient rate of consumption of wealth per capita. Any normal member of society, whose means of subsistence and recreation are insufficient to make him happy, suffers from poverty, and hence produces the very thing which society should avoid producing—pain.

"*What causes poverty?*

"Poverty is an effect of some cause or causes. Therefore if any considerable number of the normal members of society suffer from poverty it is because one or more of the causes of poverty are present. If so, one or more of the causes of prosperity must be absent. Let us, then, seek to discover the cause or causes of poverty by discovering the cause or causes of prosperity.

"In order to achieve a condition of prosperity throughout society, the following three requirements must be met:

"(1) *A sufficient rate of production of wealth per capita.* (2) *A substantially equal distribution thereof.* (3) *A degree of simplicity in the tastes and needs of the normal members of society such that the actual rate of production of wealth is sufficient reasonably to satisfy them.* A community in which these three requirements are met will be free from poverty. One in which they are not met will not be free. In order to reveal the causes of poverty, let us discuss briefly, but systematically, each of these three requirements of prosperity.

"First requirement: The rate at which wealth can be produced by a community is a function of two variables: (1) The availability of natural resources —*i. e.*, the natural adaptability of the raw materials supplied by the earth to the uses of man. (2) The degree of advancement of the productive arts—*i. e.*, the degree of development of the artificial facilities for converting said raw materials to said uses."

* * *

"Second requirement: For the purpose of discovering the condition of society which must be realized in order that the second requirement shall be met, it will be convenient to divide the members of society into two classes: (1) The producers. (2) The non-producers.

"As in a family, so in a community, 'many hands make light work.' The work of the world, as of the household, should bear heavily on no one if each bears his proper share. In a properly ordered community all able-bodied adults should constitute the producing class, bearing the principal burden of the world's drudgery, the men, as a rule, operating the industries which create the wealth of the community, the women, as a rule, carrying on the work of the household. The non-producing class should include the children of the community, the aged, and those defective in faculty, mental or physical.

"Selecting the family as the most convenient fundamental unit of society, it should consist, in general, of both producers and non-producers, the former being the support of the latter in each family. Now, a condition of substantial equality in the distribution of wealth will result if society is so organized that the average family shall be *self-sufficient*—that is, shall consume the equivalent of what it produces, and that all means by which persons properly belonging to the producing class can live upon the labor of others shall be done away with. If this condition is not met an inequality in the distribution of wealth will result, for affluence is nothing more than a condition of overconsumption, as poverty is nothing more thna a condition of underconsumption, and if a community is so constituted that some classes consume more than they produce it can only be because other classes consume less than they produce. It is certain that in any community the natural variation in the habits of industry and thrift among individuals will produce some degree of inequality, but this cause alone is insufficient to produce the extreme and chronic condition of inequality to be observed in civilized communities of our day. As a means of fulfilling the second requirement of prosperity, then, a condition of self-sufficiency of the average family in the community is necessary and sufficient.

"Third requirement: As poverty is but a deficient rate of consumption per capita, and as any rate thereof which results in happiness is not deficient, it is clear that whether an individual can be classed as in a condition of poverty or not will depend upon the rate of consumption of wealth required to make him happy.

"Men may achieve happiness in either one of two ways: They may get what they like, or like what they get. They may adapt their means of consumption to their desires, or they may adapt their desires to their means of consumption. Now it is obvious that the fewer an individual's needs and the simpler his tastes, the more easily may the first be relieved and the second gratified; whereas the more numerous his needs and the more extravagant his tastes, the greater will be the rate of consumption required to satisfy them. Consequently, other things being equal, the less the needs and the simpler the tastes of a community the less will be its poverty."

* * *

"Having thus sufficiently analyzed the cause of poverty to be able to specify the conditions of its cure, let us next proceed to seek that cure by discovering what policies society must pursue to fulfil the conditions thus specified."

"*What will cure poverty?*"

* * *

"The policy to be briefly described here has been more elaborately expounded elsewhere under the name of *pantocracy*, a term signifying the rule of the conduct of all in the interest of all, and intended to denote any policy which employs the *means* of science or common sense to attain the *end* of utility —the happiness of humanity. As applied to the United States, the particular pantocratic policy which I propose as a means of curing poverty contemplates the features outlined in the following eight sections:

"(1) Acquisition by the government of all public utilities, meaning by that term all utilities the conduct of which affects the interests of the public, including not only the railroads, telegraph lines and other means of communication, but the insurance, coal mining, meat packing and other great industries of the country."

* * *

"(2) Organization of each publicly owned public utility on the same lines as the post office, whereby the output shall be regulated by a *Department of Distribution*, in such a manner that it shall be of the quantity required to meet the demand."

* * *

"(3) Organization of a national *Labor Exchange*, by means of which the supply of labor could be adapted to the demand in a manner similar to that whereby the Department of Distribution would adapt the supply of commodities to the demand."

* * *

"(4) Organization of an *Inspection Bureau*, the function of which should be to fix the standards to which commodities must conform, and to see that they conform to them."

* * *

"(5) Institution of a policy of production whereby the antagonism of interest of the present industrial system is replaced by an identity of interest, to the end that the united power of men's self-interest shall be employed in the task of curing poverty, instead of the disunited power of their self-interest employed in the task of causing it. The means whereby pantocracy attains this result are very important, and though they cannot here be specified in detail, the principle employed may be illustrated."

* * *

"The government in its capacity of proprietor of all national public utilities would hire, for the purpose of conducting them, two classes of employes: (1) wage earners, (2) directors or managers.

"The compensation of the wage earners should be a wage, fixed by law, as in any department of government, such as the post office, the amount thereof being determined in the same manner, namely by the skill and experience required in each case. Provision for promotion or discharge should be made, as at present under the Civil Service, so that the advancement or lack of advancement of a wage earner should be a function of his merit or lack of merit, and not, as at present, be determined by the whim of an employer.

"The compensation of the directors or managers,

who would be the homologs of the present class of capitalist managers, should be of two kinds: First, a wage, fixed by law, and proportional in amount of the skill and experience required. Second, conditional compensation determined as follows:

"In any commodity producing industry it is easily possible to determine the average time required to complete a given product. Call this the *producing time* for that product. It will be a function of several things, but principally of the mechanical facilities at the command of the producer, and the skill and zeal with which he employs them in production. In an industry producing several different commodities, the producing time of the several commodities, divided by the number of different commodities, may be called the *average producing time*. Now the compensation awarded the director of a given industry, in addition to his salary, should be, at any given time, conditional upon the percentage decrease in the average producing time which has been achieved since he entered upon his duties. This method of compensation would supply all the incentive now supplied by profit to improve the arts, while not supplying the incentive now supplied by profit to oppress the producer with low wages and long hours, and the consumer with inferior products and high prices."

* * *

"(8) Simultaneously with the reform of the industrial system already outlined, a reform of the educational system should be inaugurated. The two main objects of such a reform should be: (1) To instruct thoroughly the youth of the nation in the scientific method of thought, to the end that common sense and not custom shall serve to guide the conduct of mankind. (2) To introduce such tastes, interests, and aspirations among the youth of the nation as shall lead them to adopt habits of simplicity of life and activity of thought, in place of the ostentation of life and atrophy of thought induced by the present system."

Items From Everywhere

Edited by George H. Strobell.

A proposition has emanated from some of our reformers which the President has approved and which consequently has attracted universal attention. That the great combinations can and should be placed in the hands of a receiver, who should destroy the combination and hand over the several properties involved to their several owners. Place that proposition alongside of the Socialist proposition that the oppressive combinations should be placed in the hands of a receiver and operated for the welfare of the whole people, and you will see which is really an invasion of the right of private property. The right of eminent domain is fully established and the second plan is legal and lawful now. The property in the hands of the receiver would become public property, subject, of course, to the claims of the former owners, who would have, under our laws, to be dealt with. But the Socialists never contemplate such an unwarranted interference with private property as the President approves of. This shows how hard our reformers are pressed for ideas that will head off the natural movement towards Socialism.

* * *

The campaign of education is beginning to tell in the trades unions. The defeat of Martin P. Higgins of the Printing Pressmen's Union for president shows plainly that the radical, progressive men are coming to the front. We look now to see that there is union of action more in consonance with an Allied Printing Trades label, and that the spectacle of one branch of the trade working with scabs, while another was striking, will not be seen again.

* * *

"We are waiting for you Americans to do something," said Bebel to Comrade Klein, special correspondent of The Appeal to Reason, in reply to his question of how soon the co-operative commonwealth would be ushered in. "You see," said he, "your country is far ahead of Germany in industrial development, and, besides, you have compulsory education and a progressive republic—things for which we Germans are fighting."

"But," said Comrade Klein, "are you aware that we have little or no real liberty? Have you heard of the outrage out West—the Moyer-Haywood case?"

"Oh, yes; I know all that and more," he answered in reply. "But despite that, you Americans will be the first to usher in a Socialist republic; you are now in the darkness before dawn; your wonderful development, your revolution in production, will shortly make it necessary to change your titles of ownership and methods of distribution."

* * *

Prominent Labor party men in San Francisco are making overtures to the Socialist party and a large section of the former party may join the S. P. Victor Berger of Milwaukee has been invited to come to 'Frisco and organize the union labor members into the Socialist party.

* * *

The New York Socialists here named May 1, 1908, as the date when the New York Call, a Socialist daily newspaper, shall appear. It's now over four years since the effort was first begun. There are now on hand funds to the amount of nearly $21,000, and it is hoped that the advent of the paper will see the full sum sought to be raised—$50,000—secured. But now is the time to think seriously of the ownership of our daily press. Are we going to allow these comparatively independent Socialist bodies to exist in the party wielding an influence over the minds of their readers, and not amenable to the party at large? It doesn't look reasonable. The party could elect a board of control who could become incorporated and hold all the daily papers in joint ownership. Then the local comrades could run them just as if they were the property of the local organization. This question must be settled at the next national convention.

* * *

When the Moyer and Haywood question is not so very much to the fore the editors of our papers, our rank and file, should put in some solid work on the peonage question. There is no doubt that it is far worse than the American people suspect, and that there are to-day held in bondage because of petty sins, vagrancy, deceit and debt about a million persons. A new Uncle Tom's Cabin is waiting to be written by some one.

* * *

Two most notable victories for Socialism in England have come to prove that the trade unions of that country are studying Socialism. Pete Curran, the well-known Socialist and president of the British Federation of Trades, was elected to Parliament in the bye-election in the Jarrow district. It was a four-cornered fight. Curran received 4,698 votes; Patrick Rose Innis, Conservative, 3,930 votes; Hughes, 3,474 votes, and John O'Hanlon, Nationalist, 2,124 votes. Pete (everybody in Europe calls him by his given name) is one of that galaxy of stalwarts who have made the British labor movement famous the world over, and who never hesitates to champion his principles at any time or place. He represented the British Trade Union Congress in the Louisville convention of the A. F. of L. in 1900, and subsequently made a speaking tour of the principal cities in the interest of the Socialist party. Curran is a big figure in the annual Trade Union Congresses, and when he, big Will Thorne, Ben Tillett, "Jimmy" Sexton, "Bob" Smiley of the miners, O'Grady of the woodworkers, Seddon of the clerks and one or two others get into a debate it is worth going miles to hear. They're all members of Parliament now (except Tillett and Smiley, who are pretty sure to land next time), and, in addition, there is Keir Hardie, George Barnes, Will Crooks and others who might be named, and who, as orators, stand head and shoulders above any one the old Conservative and Liberal parties might put forward. There is no longer any question but the labor movement of Great Britain is forcing a political revolution that will submerge the old political parties and wipe out capitalistic privilege, root and branch.

Even a more notable victory was that won when Victor Grayson was elected to Parliament from the Colne Valley division, West Riding of Yorkshire. Following upon the election of Pete Curran at Jarrow two weeks previously, Grayson's election is regarded as even more significant of the revolt taking place among the British working class against the present Liberal ministry.

What is more significant still is the fact that Grayson is the first Socialist to be elected as a Socialist to the House of Commons. While Keir Hardie, Will Thorne, Pete Curran and others are known as Socialists, yet they were elected primarily as Labor candidates rather than as Socialists. In Grayson's case he ran as a Socialist, declared himself as such and sought election as a strictly Socialist candidate. Notwithstanding this, the trades unions of Colne Valley turned in and worked for his election, which is taken as a sign that the organized workers are ready to accept Socialist candidates on their own merits.

* * *

As was stated in this paper several weeks ago, the Socialists carried the city of Copenhagen, Denmark, and now they are hot foot after the public service corporations. The city council has just voted to municipalize the street railway lines of Copenhagen on Aug. 1. The company's franchise has expired, its equipment is old, and it will not receive a penny of compensation for having done the people the great favor of doing business in their streets. The vote on the proposition was 25 to 14. A Socialist will be director of the new municipal railway.

The Christian Socialist Fellowship

Prof. E. J. Ward Secretary, Rochester, N. Y.
Rev. William A. Ward, Treasurer, Henderson, Ky.
National Executive Committee of Fifty Members

Comrade Strobell writes as follows:

"The next conference of the Christian Socialist Fellowship ought to be at New York, and yet it may not be. The time set in our constitution is during the month of May, and there are serious reasons brought forward by some of our most active comrades against the latter part of the month. It is almost certain that the early part of the month will conflict with the national presidential convention of the party, and therefore it may be best to have our next conference in the same city the comrades select as the convention city and following immediately after. We would thus gain national attention."

Unanimous

The wisdom of having a delegate from the Christian Socialist Fellowship at the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart, and incidentally the confidence in him and love for him that is felt by the whole Executive Committee toward Comrade Carr, is shown by the fact that the vote on the proposition of sending him has been absolutely unanimous. The time was short; the funds were low; and yet, within a week after the suggestion was made, nearly enough money, in addition to that which was already in the treasury was subscribed, to pay his expenses. However, the fact that it was necessary to draw on the treasury, and the fact that there are still some members of the Fellowship who have not subscribed to this special "Delegate Fund," make it seem wise and necessary to ask for more subscriptions. If we are to carry out the plans for propaganda which have been proposed we must have funds in the treasury. Every one of us will be benefited by having Comrade Carr at Stuttgart; let every one of us gladly have a share in bearing the expense of sending him. So shall we be able to restore to the treasury the money that has been taken from it, and so we shall not be handicapped by lack of funds in our work next winter.

A Great Book for Propaganda

This is not the place for book reviews, but I want to mention here a book which has come to my hand and which is, in my opinion, without exception, the best presentation of the Christian Socialist position that has apeared anywhere. It is "Christianity and the Social Crisis" (price $1.60; order of the CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST), by Walter Rauschenbusch, Professor of Church History in Rochester Theological Seminary. It was called to my attention by the unstinted public endorsement of one of the most famous and greatest ministers in America. Soon afterward I heard of one minister who was converted to the preaching of Socialism by the reading of this book alone. It is a scholarly, and yet, in the best sense, popular, study of "The Historical Roots of Christianity" which the author finds to lie in the social message of the Hebrew Prophets, of the "Social Aims of Jesus," of the "Social Impetus of Primitive Christianity," of the question, "Why Has Christianity Never Undertaken the Work of Social Reconstruction?" of "The Present Crisis," of "The Stake of the Church in the Social Movement," and finally, of "What to Do." I would quote from it, but I have given my copy away and though I have ordered another, it has not yet reached me. Do not fail to procure this clear, strong book at once. Read it yourself; then lend it to your minister. If he is alive and honest and open-minded, it will be the means of his being born again.

(Comrade Weeks gave a good review of this book in the issue of June 1st, and we have sold several copies from this office.—J. O. B.)

Democracy and Socialism

Let me also mention a great article which appeared in the June "Arena." "Democracy and Socialism," by James MacKaye. It is the clearest exposition of the present economic problem that I have seen in any magazine article. The author gives "The Socialistic Sylogysm": "Conduct affecting the happiness of the people should be controlled by the people. The conduct of public utilities affects the happiness of the people. Therefore the conduct of public utilities should be controlled by the people." And he challenges all defendants of the present system or of "Regulation," which he calls "mitigated oligarchy," to debate. One person to whom I showed this article immediately sent to the Arena company and ordered six copies. The same number which contains this article contains: "Why I am a Christian Socialist," by Comrade J. O. Bentall, which alone makes the number worth ten times its price.

One might think that I have some personal interest in advertising the two above. I have; but it is simply the interest of one who, when he finds, among the great mass of current literature, something really worth while, feels so good about it that he can't keep it to himself, but must pass the news along.

Women in the Fellowship

The call printed in the last number of THE CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST for women to join the Fellowship is finding hearty response. Already a number of women have sent in their names. "Yet there is room." Get some copies of the Frances Willard Booklet and go after the leading women in your community—and their husbands and sons—don't neglect their husbands and sons.

And Please Notice

My address has been changed to 8 Joslyn place, Rochester, N. Y. This address I hope and expect to keep.

EDWARD J. WARD, Secretary.